1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Little use is made by the Todas of pigments. The juice of a fruit called *ilpom*, which has a red colour, is sometimes used to adorn the forehead, and another reddish juice from a fruit called *puthimulpom*[1] is used for the same purpose. The yellowish juice of the *pelkurthpom* is rubbed on the face, but this was said to be done in frosty weather only, as a protection against the cold. Ashes are now occasionally rubbed on the face and head, especially by women at the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth. The last is certainly a recently borrowed custom, and I suspect the other adornments just mentioned to be modern imitations of the forehead marks of the Hindus.

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Ornaments

The men usually wear silver rings on the fourth digit of one or other hand. Often earrings are worn by the men and these are not uncommonly of gold. Harkness says that men sometimes wore chains of silver round the neck, but it is doubtful whether these are ever worn now. Formerly it seems that men used to wear far more solid rings, and one such ring is preserved which is said to have belonged to the hero or god Kwoten.

301

The ornaments of the women are more numerous and take the form of bracelets or bangles; armlets, often adorned with bunches of cowries; necklaces, sometimes made of silver coins; earrings; and a brass circlet worn round the waist. These ornaments are usually of brass or silver. At one time they seem to have been very massive, Breeks recording that a pair of brass armlets worn on one arm weighed six pounds. Formerly gold ornaments seem to have been commonly worn, and, so far as one can judge from older accounts and illustrations, it seems that Toda jewellery has greatly degenerated and is of a very paltry kind compared with that worn in the past.

[1] This is the fruit of one of the plants (*Rubus lasiocarpus*) of which the leaves are used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen of Taradr and Kanòdrs.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. IV.

that the practice of staining the skin is quite unknown to them.

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They—the women—however, mark or tattoo portions of the body, terming it Gurtu. Dr. Shortt has recorded these marks so carefully, that I cannot do better than quote his own words:—'The women,' he writes, 'are tattooed about the arms, chest, and legs in the following manner: Three semicircles of dots on the outer side of each arm, each semicircle containing nine points; a double row of dots across the upper part of the chest, about an inch below the clavicle, each row consisting of thirty-six points, about the eighth of an inch apart, the rows themselves being one inch distant from each other. Those on the arms have an intervening space of two inches; two rows, containing eight or nine points each, on the shoulders, commencing in front where the lines on the chest terminate, and extending backwards to a point on a level with the superior semicircle on the arm; a solitary dot in the centre of the chin; two circular lines of dots on each leg, the upper circle containing twenty-five and the lower only twenty dots; and a row across the dorsum of each foot, numbering from nine to eleven points. The terminal point of each row is marked by a ring, the interlinear points being simple dots, frequently taking the form of squares.'[3]

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The most characteristic personal ornament amongst them, is that carried by women; an extremely clumsy metal ring—Tulwaji—weighing sometimes as much as five pounds, which is carried on the upper part of the arm, and worn according to taste; sometimes one ring on each arm, or sometimes a pair on one arm, kept apart—so that the skin may not be pinched between them—by means of a slip of padding. These rings are often built half of copper, half of brass, so that one day they may be worn presenting the one metal, and another day turned to show the other. In order that the arm may be introduced into this ponderous mass of brass, the ring is cut

[3] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. IV.

through at one place in the circle, so that by introducing a lever into the crevice it may be opened a little.[4]

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The device being so heavy and inartistic, and these rings known to be often ancient heirlooms, I do not doubt we have in this quasi ornament an armlet belonging to very primitive times; one that certainly could not have undergone very great improvement since it was first adopted by the people.

No. 9.

A TODA ARMLET.

Hence it may prove of some value as a means of tracing the Todas to the unknown race from which they sprang and separated.

[4] Curiously enough, on return from the Nilagiris, a friend living at Kheri in Oudh, showed me an armlet which had just been cut out of the stomach of an alligator caught in the neighbourhood. Although the workmanship of this bracelet was far more artistic than that of the clumsy Toda ornament, yet the mode of opening and shutting it was identical, and the general design, suggestive. As it was not in wear amongst any of the civilised natives of the place, and there are known to be primitive tribes living in the neighbouring jungles, it is just possible there may be some real connection between the two armlets, though separated during 3,000 or 4,000 years.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. IV.

Perhaps the ornaments, likely to be equally primitive with these armlets, are the heavy bunches of coiled iron wire or of little bits of the same metal, worn like charms from both waist and elbow. Very tasteless and heavy.

I do not see, in the form of their finger and ear rings, necklaces and girdles, anything deserving of remark. They do not appear to me to be especially characteristic of the Todas, but rather, just what they can purchase from the tribes surrounding them. The photographs of women, show the nature of necklace worn as marriage tokens.

The nose and lips are never perforated or ornamented; nor are bangles for the ankles, or bells on the toes, worn.

You may distinguish a boy from a girl by the mode in which the hair is cut. With the latter, the entire back-hair is kept short from infancy till the approach to marriageable age. The former have a band of hair cut short, or shaved, along the head, from the nape of the neck, over the poll to the top of the forehead, and a cross slip carried over the top of the head from ear to ear. The smallest male infants are often so distinguished.

The wearing apparel of the sexes is identical. First comes the loin-cloth—Kûvn—corresponding to the Hindustani Lungoti, over which the toga—Putkuli—measuring about six feet long by four feet broad, made of coarse unbleached cotton, and worn double; ornamented at the two ends with red and blue stripes, and sometimes with a little embroidery in blue cotton. This mantle is sufficiently large to envelope a woman most completely. A decent though cumbersome garment to wear, better suited for sitting and sleeping in than for any purposes of labour. Pockets are made in the corners of the mantle, by sewing the double cloth together at those places. This dress is more properly Dravidian than mere Toda, and is purchased in the bazaars.

They are a dirty people; yet very much of their dirt arises

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXV.

583 584 girl accepts him, he must marry her. The power of taking or rejecting this man who aspires to be her future lord being still hers, the opportunity of judging for herself, how far he is to her taste, is now afforded her. Most practical and sensible race!

583 584 684 In the absence of all rites and ceremonies, but with the approval of parents, and in full cognisance of the village community of relatives, these young people are now held to be a married pair, on trial for a day and night. An entire house—eight feet square—is given up to them, and in this they live with closed door during the short period of probation, food being passed in to them by the girl's mother. The damsel is required to make up her mind on the expiry of this brief honeymoon, either to accept or reject her suitor. If she refuse the man, he goes away the subject of depreciatory remarks. If, on the contrary, she should tell her mother that she will have him, the pair are now held to be man and wife.[2] Neither he nor she can recede from their bargain without punishment; which would take the form of a fine of some portion of the curious dower, if referred to a tribunal of Elders—kûtacaram.

585 301 431 The husband now gives his wife a necklace,[3] of value according to his means—unmarried girls do not wear necklaces—and sets her up with a new mantle. The bride may receive from affectionate parents little trifles towards beginning to keep house. I tried to ascertain what would be a welcome present on such occasions, but found that after my informant had mentioned a brass cup and plate he stumbled so much, I feel quite within the bounds of safety if I throw in a pair of brass armlets or silver ear-rings.

585 The wife now either accompanies her husband to his own house, or they both remain in her father's village, according

[2] Literally Âl='*husband*' or '*man*.' Kâtvoti='*wife*' or '*she who is bound to me*.' See derivation in Chapter VII., Note 8.

[3] Among some of the tribes in South India, marriage is ratified by tying a thread or thin slip of bark round the neck. This practice shows the origin of the Toda custom.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.)[1] A pair of brass armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Bŭguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end. The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs (*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh, Hoh*.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mâo*, father-in-law,* which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil. Tenure of land.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had paid annually a light pasture tax for about 100 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirâi fanams*‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pâthshâl*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirâi fanam* = Or. 4a. 6p. of present money.

[1] [Plate 5A -- Analysis]

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Tāli*?"* The father consents. The husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes a bow of the *Hubbe* shrub (*Sophora glauca*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kándal it is *Pirzhedkham*.
„ Muttinád „ *Pirzhirzhk*.
„ Kodanád „ *Kurrkdwirzh*.
„ Manjakal „ *Bellgáriff*.

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nāga* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Mámúl* and *Shástra*. One man added "*By the Bow and Arrow† we have got a wife who is with child.*"‡

The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kordsai Kédu*), which takes place soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Marvendli Kédu*), a sort of commemorative festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

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* The *Tāli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the Tali.

† See *Coorg Memoirs*, by Rev. H. Mosqling, p. 40:—

"As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick (*Ricinus communis*), with an arrow "made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is thus, at taking his first breath, "introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

‡ A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 12.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. "On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He "generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his house." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"?[1] That such marriages have been a recognised practice in India from ancient times is evident from Manu, iii. 33.

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[1] See *Development of Relationships*, by Sir J. Lubbock: *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 8:—

"Marriage in Rome was symbolised by capture or purchase, as among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the "idea of marriage among the lower races of men generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not "spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not valued but endured by her husband."

3½ Breeks G-6 (no date) 1873 Toda

293 No. XI.—Toda club (ornamented as used at a funeral ceremony). *See* Plate XI. Made by the Todas of the Hill tree. Rupee 1.

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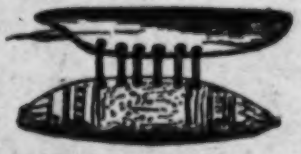
301 No. XII.—Gold earrings. Worn generally by men and sometimes by women. Made by Kotas. Gold procured from Malabar in the shape of sovereigns. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

293 No. XIII.—Silver box, and opening with a screw. Used for small gold coins. Worn round the waist over the dhoya with a string, or sometimes a silver chain. Silver, got from silver coins. Made by low country smiths, and bought in its present shape by the Todas. Rupees 6.



301 No. XIV.—*Pilaldi*. Brass armlet worn by women above the elbow; big ones weigh each 2½ lbs., small ones 1 lb. Made by Kotas of brass brought up by low country merchants. An armlet made of Nilagiri nettle fibre, bound with cotton thread, with a coarse tassel, is worn as a sort of buffer between the brass armlets. A woman will sometimes wear two of the big brass armlets, and two of the small ones on each arm. Girls of ten years old will begin to wear the small ones, and three or four years after the big ones. The armlets are never taken off except for repairs. Rupees 19, 8 annas.

301 No. XV.—Two necklaces worn and made by Toda women. Beads purchased in Bazaar. The beads are strung upon thread made of the Nilagiri nettle. Black beaded necklaces called *Kadwood*. Red beaded necklaces called *Narbolli*. Annas 4.

283

000 No. XVI.—*Kyttkoodiedri*. Tied round the elbow of a female corpse, and burnt with the body. Made by Toda women.

Tijkri (ಕಟ್ಟಿ). The bag or lump at the end contains the flower and leaf of * ?
6 pice.

145 No. XVII.—*Tegk*. Cocoa-nut drinking vessel, used by women for milk and tyre. Made by Todas out of cocoa-nuts brought from the low country. *Gratis*.

000 No. XVIII.—*Es*. Cloth tied round the waist of a female corpse, and burnt with the body. Cloth made by Badagas in Jakanâri in this district. The same villagers make the Pâlâl's cloths (Tunni). *See* page 16. Rupee 1.

301 No. XIX.—*Kaththiath* (ಕತ್ತಿಯಾಟ್). Silver earrings worn by women in each ear. Made by Kotas. Rupee ½.

No. XX.—*Hilkal* (ಕಿಲ್ಕಲ್). Iron bracelets worn by women on the left wrist. Made by Kotas. 12 annas.

No. XXI.—*Helbu* (ಕಿಲ್ಬು).—Two small iron rings worn by women on the first finger of the left hand; they usually wear two, sometimes four. Made by Kotas. *Gratis*.

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* This was left blank, probably till the botanical name could be ascertained. I do not know what tree is referred to.—Ed.

3½ breaks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

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No. XXIX.—*Kôvilth* (ಕೋವ್ಇತ್). Necklace made by Kotas. Worn generally by women; burnt with the body at funerals. 20 rupees.

No. XXX.—*Billsull* (ಬಿಲ್ಸುಲ್). Worn by women on the right wrist. Made by Malabar jewellers. Small silver beads rattle inside. Rupees 5, 8 annas.

No. XXXI.—*Thaggôr* (ತಗ್ಗೋರ್). Brass chain worn by women round their waist next to the skin. Made at Kota village. Rupees 1, 4 annas.

No. XXXII.—*Môdara* (ಮೋದರ). Silver ring worn by men and women on the small finger of either hand; a coin often forms the seal of the ring. Made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 3, 4 annas.

No. XXXIII.—*Pîttak*. Worn by males and females on the third finger of the right hand, and made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 4, 8 annas.

372

No. XXXIV.—*Kualth* (ಕೊಳ್ತ್). Bamboo for blowing up fires. Made by Todas.

74
53

No. XXXV.—*Patti*. A square basket covered with cloth and cotton, and ornamented with cowries; at dry funeral for a female, 15 or 18 will be burnt, each containing a piece of jaggery, garlic, safron, sandalwood, and some nâr (fibre) for sewing thread, the latter prepared by Toda women; the basket is made by the Kurumbas.

No. XXXVI.—*Kuttkualth* (ಕುತ್ತ್‌ಕೊಳ್ತ್). Burnt at the dry funeral of a female. Made by Kotas.

534

No. XXXVII.—*Duguri* (ದುಗುರಿ). Musical instrument; a sort of flute. Made by the Todas, and played by them and by Badagas.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

142 The lineaments and characteristics of the Telingan race, as described by Pickering, seem to apply to this people in all points save one, but that a very important one, namely, the nature of the hair. According to the above author, the Telingans have "straight fine hair", but, as the hair of the Toda men is clustering, partially curled, and rather inclined to coarseness, the classification of this tribe under that head seems out of the question.

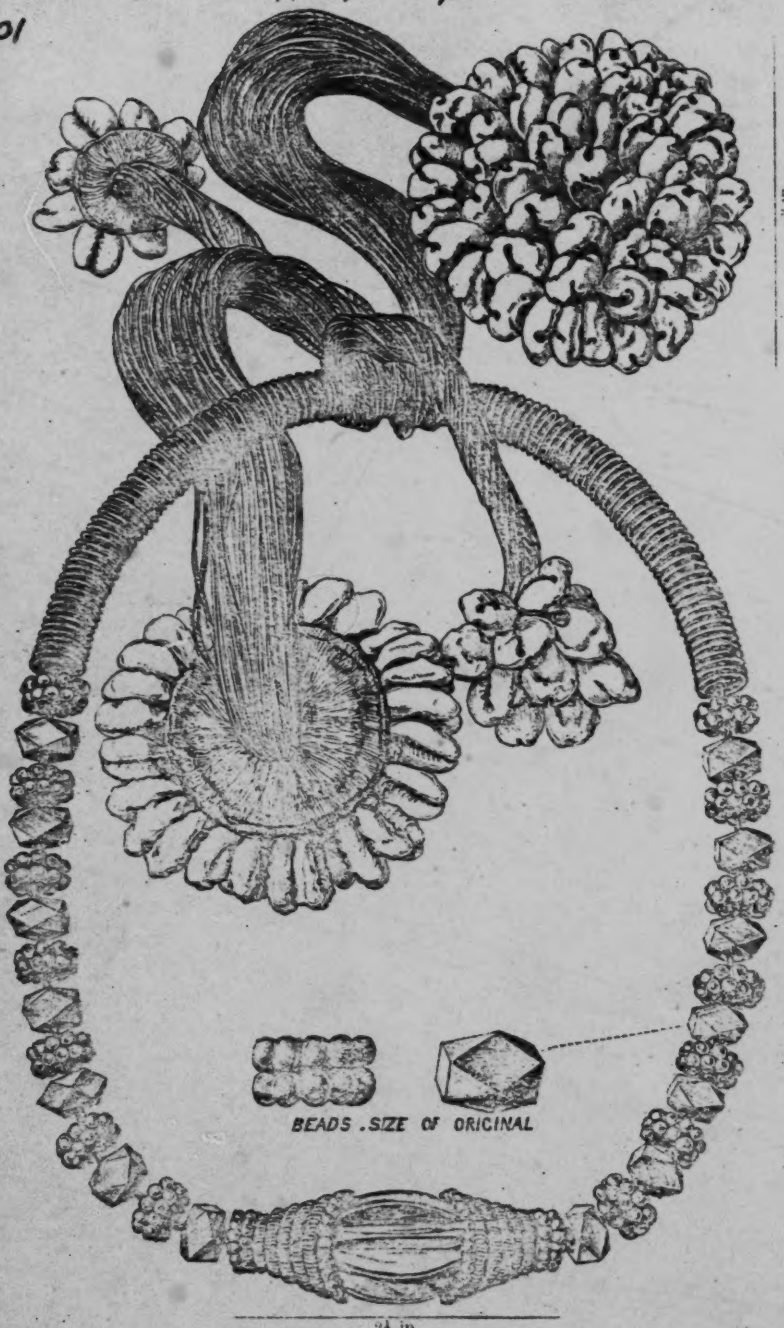
301 The most noticeable of the ornaments, generally valuable and always pleasing to the eye, worn by the Toda women, are their massive and very handsome necklaces of solid gold and silver, which, though of course varying in size and detail of design, are all of the same typical character, resembling some of the ancient [436] necklaces found in our own country. These ornaments they value very highly, and regard as heirlooms not to be parted with on any consideration, so that to procure a specimen was a matter of extreme difficulty. The one now exhibited I managed after much trouble to obtain through the medium of a friendly Moravian missionary, from a female whose interest in dress and ornament was, like herself, somewhat on the wane. Mr. Metz, the missionary in question, in the course of a residence of many years among these people, had gained their trust and confidence to an almost unlimited extent; nevertheless, it required, in addition to his oral arguments, several successive handfuls of small silver coin, finally amounting to thirty-five rupees to induce her to sell it. Even this sum (which was about equivalent to £3 : 10 : 0, in shillings and sixpences) the owner consented to accept only on condition that nothing should be said to any of her tribe regarding the transaction. This ornament is the work of the Khotas, one of the tribes that will be presently described, and its weight is nearly eight ounces of the purest silver. Nearly all the adult women have similar necklaces, many of them being much larger and more massive than the present specimen, and mostly having bunches and rosettes of cowrie shells on blue cords affixed, which hang down the back of the neck.

Their other ornaments are silver ear-rings and bracelets; gold, silver, and brass rings on the fingers, a couple of very large brass armlets above the elbows, and a brass or sometimes silver belt worn round the middle, and next to the skin. The use of the latter I fancy may be the suspension of the underclothing when worn.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

opp. p. 24

● 301



SILVER NECKLACE, TODA TRIBE.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

142
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●301
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TODA WOMAN.

[facing p. 123]

7:Thurston E05 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

a cloth, which he at once recognised as having something to do with the Todas.

In former times, a Badaga could be at once picked out from the other tribes of the Nilgiri plateau by his wearing a turban. At the present day, some Toda elders and important members of the community (*e.g.*, monegars or headmen) have adopted this form of head-gear. The men who were engaged as guides by Dr. Rivers and myself donned the turban in honour of their appointment.

Toda females are tattooed after they have reached puberty. I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the absence of tattoo marks was explained either on the ground that they were too poor to afford the expense of the operation, or that they were always suckling or pregnant—conditions, they said, in which the operation would not be free from danger. The dots and circles, of which the simple devices are made up,* are marked out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and the pattern is pricked in by a Toda woman with the spines of *Berberis aristata*. The system of tattooing and decoration of females with ornaments is summed up in the following cases:—

1. Aged 22. Has one child. Tattooed with three dots on back of left hand. Wears silver necklet ornamented with Arcot two-anna pieces; thread and silver armlets ornamented with cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells on right upper arm; thread armlet ornamented with cowries on left forearm; brass ring on left ring finger; silver rings on right middle and ring fingers. Lobes of ears pierced. Ear-rings removed owing to grandmother's death.

* *See* Madras Museum Bull., IV, 1896, pl. XII.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

304 2. Aged 28. Tattooed with a single dot on chin;
[531] rings and dots on chest, outer side of upper arms, back of left hand, below calves, above ankles, and across dorsum of feet. Wears thread armlet ornamented with young cowries on right forearm; thread armlet and two
[301] heavy ornamental brass armlets on left upper arm; ornamental brass bangle and glass bead bracelet on left wrist; brass ring on left little finger; two steel rings on left ring finger; bead necklet ornamented with cowries.

3. Aged 35. Tattooed like the preceding, with
[531] the addition of an elaborate device of rings and dots on the back.

4. Aged 35. Linen bound round elbow joint, to
[301] prevent chafing of heavy brass armlets. Cicatrices of sores in front of elbow joint, produced by armlets.

5. Aged 23. Has one child. Tattooed only below calves, and above ankles.

141 The following are the more important physical measurements of the Toda men, whom I have examined:—

	Av.	Max.	Min.
	CM.	CM.	CM.
Stature	169·8	186·8	157·6
Cephalic length ...	19·4	20·4	18·2
Do. breadth ...	14·2	15·2	13·3
Do. index ...	73·3	81·3	68·7
Nasal height ...	4·7	4·9	4·6
Do. breadth ...	3·6	3·8	3·4
Do. index ...	74·9	79·9	70·

Allowing that the cephalic index is a good criterion of racial or tribal purity, the following analysis of the Toda indices is very striking:—

69 ◆◆
70 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆
71 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

764 in quiet conversation, leaving the females to continue mourning round the corpse, interrupted from time to time by the arrival of detachments from distant mands, whose first duty was to salute the dead body. Meanwhile a near female relative of the dead child was busily engaged inside the hut, collecting together in a basket small measures of rice, jaggery, sago, honey-comb, and the girl's simple toys, which were subsequently to be burned with the corpse. The mourning ceasing after a time, the corpse was placed inside the hut, and followed by the near relatives, who there continued to weep over it.

764 781 A detachment of men and boys, who had set out in search of the buffaloes which were to be sacrificed, now returned driving before them three cows, which escaped from their pursuers to rejoin the main herd. A long pause ensued, and, after a very prolonged drive, three more cows were guided into a marshy swamp, where one of them was caught by the horns, and dragged reluctantly, but with little show of fight, to the strains of Kota drum and flute, in front of the hut, where it was promptly despatched by a blow on the poll. The corpse was now brought from within the hut, and placed, face upwards, with its feet resting on the forehead of the buffalo, whose neck was decorated with a silver [301] chain, such as is worn by Todas round the loins, as no bell was available, and the horns were smeared with butter. Then followed frantic manifestations of grief, amid which the unhappy mother fainted. Mourning

764 588 over, the corpse was made to go through a form of ceremony, resembling that which is performed during pregnancy with the first child. A small boy, three years old, was selected from among the relatives of the dead girl, and taken by his father in search of a certain grass [824] (*Andropogon Schœnanthus*) and a twig of a shrub

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

had both received pieces of cloth from the cicisbeo of their wife.

So ingrained in Toda customs is the *mokhthoditi* institution that somebody who died without having either a *mokhthodvaiol* or a *sedvaitazmokh* would have to have one appointed after death so as to fill the place reserved for that person at the funeral rites. For cicisbei have an important function to fulfil on this occasion, and no ceremony would be complete without it. It is significant that a brother of the woman's husband is preferred in the case of such a posthumous appointment.

At the cremation of Ling Mish (23, called after Miss C. F. Ling!), a Tarar woman married to a man of the Norsh *modol*, on the 27th July, 1939, I saw her cicisbeo, a Teivilkh, come forward at the moment when her body had been prepared to be laid on the pyre, and insert with his left hand some limes, three handfuls of the grain which the Todas call *patcherski* (samai), jaggery, a piece of the dark *än* cloth, and the strings (*penor*) of his own *kuvn*, into the pocket of the deceased's *putkuli*. I was told that had she not had a lover, another man of the Teivilkh moiety would have been chosen to carry out this last rite it being essential to do so. Rivers says that the *mokhthodvaiol* should go to the funeral with his ring on the ring-finger of his left hand. He should make the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to the woman's father before the buffaloes have been caught, and afterwards insert the symbolic objects into his dead mistress's garment with his left hand – as if to mark that his relations with her were really *de la main gauche*. In the case of a man dying, exactly the same rites will be carried out by his *sedvaitazmokh*, except that she will not make obeisance to the man's father; her brothers will in her stead (see *The Todas*, p. 366).

The Todas always make a point of saying that they may not have any sexual relations, even clandestine, with non-Todas, and we have seen that a divorce from a woman can be sought for if she has been convicted of such an offence. It is, I was told, a particularly heinous crime for a Toda woman to have intercourse with someone not belonging to the tribe. In this way, we are led to believe, Toda racial stock has been kept "pure" throughout the centuries, and I have even heard it said by Indian physical anthropologists that the tribe is of a degenerate physical type, because there is too much intermarriage, and "the genes do not circulate enough".

And yet it seems that with the Muduga tribe of the Walluvanad taluk in Malabar there exists a definite institutionalised sexual relation based upon the hereditary friendship of some Todas with a few leading